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# SPEECH

OF

# HON. E. W. CHASTAIN,

OF GEORGIA,

ON

## THE ACQUISITION OF CUBA,

IN REPLY TO

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THE SPEECH OF MR. BOYCE, OF SOUTH CAROLINA:

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEB. 17, 1855

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# SPEECH.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. CHASTAIN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Were I to consult my own feelings, I would allow the remainder of the session to pass without taking any further part in its proceedings than answering to my name, and recording my vote on such questions as may come before the House, convinced, as I have long been, that the greatest obstacle to legislative action, and, consequently, the most common subject of well-founded complaint, on the part of our respective constituencies, is our inveterate proneness to oratorical display.

It has ever been my habit to act promptly—nay, boldly—when my judgment has been formed, and my course decided; to halt at no stopping-places; to lose no time in useless parade, nor delay my purpose by ostentatious harangues, either in laudation of my wisdom or explanation of my course. Action, sir, is my principle, and I have ever been willing to permit that action to speak for itself. Justice, however, to myself, to my constituents, to the South, and to the country, demand that I should trespass, for a few moments, on the patience of the House, whilst I protest, in the most emphatic manner, against the propositions submitted to this House, a few days since, by the honorable member from South Carolina, [Mr. BOYCE,] in reference to our present and prospective relations with Spain and the Island of Cuba. No gentleman in this House, or out of it, is more willing than I am to acknowledge the abilities and the patriotism of the honorable member from South Carolina. That he should labor under what I conceive to be so extraordinary a hallucination—extraordinary, because the gentleman represents, in part, a gallant State, that has ever been foremost in defence of southern interests—is to my mind a political paradox of ominous import. It can only be accounted for by analyzing the facts and the data upon which the gentleman's speech is predicated. If we find that these facts and these data are incorrect, that the honorable gentleman has been misled by the authorities on which he relied, we can easily find a solution of what would otherwise appear strange, even inexplicable, in view of the section of country which the honorable gentleman so ably represents, and the subject which formed the theme of his eloquent remarks.

I propose, then, sir, to follow the course of argument adopted by the gentleman from South Carolina. I shall endeavor to show that national honor, as well as national necessity, imperatively demand a prompt, definitive, and satisfactory settlement of the long-standing grievances and multiplied and accumulated outrages which we have experienced at the hands of Spanish officials, and which we have already permitted to remain too long unredressed and unpunished. Sir, our national honor

and our commercial rights are represented by every flag that floats in the breeze from the mast-head of an American ship, no matter in what sea she may be found, or in what port she may choose to anchor. Insult that flag, and you insult the whole American people; you rouse a feeling throughout the length and breadth of the land which nothing can appease short of full, honorable, satisfactory, and prompt reparation. But we will come to this point presently.

The honorable gentleman charges, at the outset of his remarks, that a feverish impatience seems to be seizing upon our people for territorial extension, and to support this charge we are told that the people upon the northern frontier look with deep feeling to the annexation of the British provinces of North America. That, sir, is a question which these provinces must decide for themselves—one with which this country at this time has nothing whatever to do. When these provinces present themselves at the doors of Congress, asking for admission into our Confederacy of States, clothed with the attributes of sovereignty, and capable of treating on subjects of such grave importance, should I occupy a seat in this House, I shall act, I trust, as becomes an American legislator, and as a member of the great democratic party of this nation. I shall be ready to extend the hand of friendship to every man who has passed through the fiery ordeal of oppression, and may desire to worship at the same altar of liberty with myself. I care not under what sun he may have been born—I shall ask not what tongue he speaks—if his heart throbs for *liberty*, and he is worthy to enjoy it, I can greet him as a friend, and receive him as a brother.

But, sir, it may be owing to my obliquity of judgment, or to some obtuseness of comprehension, but I confess that I am unable to discover the slightest analogy between the relative positions of Canada and Cuba towards the United States. When, sir, I would ask the gentleman from South Carolina, has our flag been insulted with impunity by the authorities of the North American provinces, our citizens immured in subterranean dungeons; despoiled of their property; shot down and publicly butchered by a brutal and ferocious soldiery, without trial, without a defence, without a hearing, contrary to every principle of international law, and in the very teeth of existing treaty stipulations. Tell me, sir, that these outrages have been perpetrated by British officials in North America; that our commerce has been crippled and paralyzed by odious exactions and onerous imposts, and that the very name of American, the proudest that man ever bore, is with them a by-word of insult and contumely; show me when these things, and such as these, can be charged by our government upon the British authorities in the North American provinces, and I am ready to vote the last dollar in the treasury to blockade their ports, take possession of their territory, and hold it it as an indemnification for the past, and a pledge for their good behavior in the future. Gentlemen may talk of the evils of extension, and preach didactic homilies to this House on the divine attributes of acquiescence and submission under insult and injury; but our honor as a sovereign and independent nation rises above all such considerations, and demands that neither should be imperilled by cowardly submission to wrong, or groundless apprehensions at dangers that have no real existence.

The whole argument of the honorable gentleman in reference to

the dangers to be apprehended from territorial extension, however sound it may be on general principles, or however applicable under different forms of government from ours, has no relevancy, in my humble judgment, to our present position with respect to Cuba. I trust, sir, that I am as free from the spirit of filibustering as the gentleman from South Carolina. I am willing and ready to go as far as he who goes farthest in observing faithfully all our treaty stipulations—not only with Spain, but with all nations. If the inhabitants of Cuba are groaning under the weight of oppressive laws, and writhing under the lash of heartless despots, they have, in our own history, an example of what the "unconquerable will," the fixed resolve to die as freemen rather than live as slaves, can accomplish, if they should strike for freedom and wrest the sceptre from the tyrant's [redacted]. In such a contest, it is true, they would have all the sympathies of my soul, and I doubt not that many of our more ardent and patriotic young countrymen would be found fighting, side by side, with the Cuban patriot, willing to share with him all the disasters and the perils the occasion might bring forth. But as a nation we would have no right to interfere; we could do no more than we did on similar occasions—be the first to acknowledge the independence of their country, so soon as that independence shall be fairly won. Should such ever be the condition of things in Cuba; should her patriot sons ever rise in their strength and crush the tyrant power that has so long enslaved them, and then formally apply to be received into our confederacy, the time will have arrived for the gentleman from South Carolina, should he occupy a seat on this floor, to expatiate on the evils of territorial extension, and calculate, with such mathematical precision, the number of human beings that can comfortably subsist upon an acre of ground.

But, sir, let us suppose that Cuba has thrown off the Spanish yoke, established her independence, and asked to be admitted into the American Union. The honorable member meets the application with an objection on which he seemed to lay much stress—namely, that the admission of Cuba would paralyze the vast slave interest at the South engaged in raising sugar. This, sir, is a fallacy, and, I regret to add, a some what popular one. The sugar-growing region of the South, and the slave interest engaged in that pursuit, would be immeasurably benefited by such an acquisition. Such, at least, is the opinion of those who have examined this subject carefully and practically; whose opportunities for acquiring correct information have been ample, and whose interests, and feelings, and sympathies are all identified with the sugar-growing interests of Louisiana. I will quote from an article on this subject which appeared in De Bow's Review for July, 1854, from the pen of one of the most accomplished and patriotic of Louisiana's sons:

"The establishment of a free government in Cuba could not produce any immediate prejudice to the sugar-planting interest of Louisiana, for it would not disturb in any way the fiscal protection which the present tariff extends to it. It is the subsequent admission of that island as one of the States of this Union which is supposed to nurture disaster and ruin for the sugar planters of Louisiana." * * * "But I do not entertain the belief that this event is pregnant with ruin, or even with injury to the sugar-planting interests of this State; and to such as suppose that such a result would follow the admission of Cuba into the Union, I would suggest the following reflections:

"The product of sugar to the acre in Cuba differs very slightly from that in Louisiana, while the difference in the amount produced per hand is even less than the difference of pro-

duct to the acre, and is probably in favor of the Louisiana planter, from his improved system of culture, and better care and feeding of his hands.

"The great elements of the less cost of production of sugar in Cuba than in this country consist in the superior cheapness of labor and the lower value of land there. The average value of field-hands in Cuba is $500, while in Louisiana their value is $1,200; and the mean value of land is well known to be far less than here. In these great items consist almost the entire advantage which the planter of Cuba possesses over him of Louisiana. In other respects he labors under disadvantages; for instance, the cost of his supplies, which is greater from his greater distance from their place of production.

"The first great result of the establishment of a free government in Cuba, or of its admission to this confederacy, would be the immediate cessation of the African slave trade, and the appreciation in value of the slaves there, consequent upon the cutting off of this source of cheap supply. Next in the scale of economic results attending the admission of Cuba to the Union would be the equalization of the value of slaves. They could not remain at an average value of $500 there, while they bore that of $1,200 in Louisiana, and freedom of intercourse between the two countries existed. Such an equalization in the value of labor in this country and in Cuba would contribute in a great degree to an equalization of the cost of production of sugar in each, increasing it in Cuba and diminishing it in Louisiana, in the exact proportion of its effects upon the value of labor respectively. * * * *

"The increase in the cost of production of this staple in Cuba would afford a far more permanent and efficient protection to the sugar-planter of Louisiana than the present fiscal impost upon sugar; while, so long as Cuba is enabled to produce it at less cost than Louisiana, and the desire in the North to obtain cheap sugar exists, the danger to the sugar-planting interest in this country will not only remain, but continue to increase."

Such, Mr. Chairman, are the well-digested views of a citizen of Louisiana, long a resident of Cuba, familiar with the subject in all its bearings; and, one should suppose, as keenly alive to all that can affect the prosperity and interests of his native State as the gentleman from South Carolina.

But, sir, so far from paralyzing, or even injuriously affecting, the sugar-growing interests of Louisiana, I think I can demonstrate that the admission of Cuba into our Union will prove the best, and, perhaps, the only measure that will confer stability upon the culture of the sugar-cane in that State, and promote the permanent welfare of its planting interests.

We have had official information that the Spanish government, instigated, beyond all rational doubt, by British diplomacy, have, during the past few years, been devising every imaginable scheme to increase the supply of labor in the Island of Cuba at every hazard. European, Indian, and Asiatic laborers have, from time to time, been introduced to that end, and the authorities of the Island have even officially declared that if the planters of the Island will sustain them in the measure, they will introduce in one year one hundred thousand negroes, who shall be apprenticed out, as the wants of the planters may require, for a series of years, and at prices merely nominal. In the mean time every encouragement is given to the slave trade; and here I would take occasion to thank the honorable gentleman for his admission that, notwithstanding the treaty of 1817 between England and Spain, Africans in vast numbers have been imported into Cuba. Yes, sir, they have been imported into Cuba; they are at this day imported, and they will continue to be imported—for it is the secret and settled policy of Spain to cheapen labor in Cuba as much as possible—until that Providence which watches over the destinies of men, and of nations, shall interpose the stars and stripes of our Union to put a stop to this nefarious traffic.

But to return. Let us suppose this policy to be successful, and the cost of labor to be reduced by it to $200 per hand, (and this is the

ultimum fixed upon by the Spanish officials in Cuba,) what protection will thirty per cent., the present duty on sugar, under the tariff act of 1846, afford the Louisiana planter against the almost costless sugar of Cuba? The writer, whose able reflections on this subject I have cited, justly and truly remarks that, under such a condition of things, "five years of such competition would suffice to ruin every sugar-planter in the State of Louisiana." "They would," he continues, "follow the coffee-planters of Cuba in poverty to the grave." The gentleman from South Carolina may, therefore, dismiss all fears as respects the sugar-planting interests of Louisiana. If he has at heart, as I am sure he has, the true welfare and interest of that State, he will never have a better opportunity than now to convince the world of that fact. Let him lend his powerful influence and exert his superior talents in facilitating, in every honorable way, the acquisition of Cuba, and annexing it to this Union, and he will contribute in making his country the great sugar market of the world; Louisiana and Cuba, as neighboring and sister States, encouraging and stimulating each other in the arts of commerce and industrial progress, and both fulfilling their high destiny as two of the brightest stars in our galaxy of States.

There was one portion of the speech of the gentleman from South Carolina, to which, I must confess, I listened with mingled emotions of surprise and regret. I cannot believe that the gentleman designed to reflect upon our government because it has been compelled, in self-defence, to adopt a retaliatory policy with respect to Spanish vessels entering the ports of the United States. But the language used by the honorable gentleman admits, in my humble opinion, of no other construction. I quote from the speech, as printed in the Globe, of this city. In referring to the onerous and discriminating regulations which prevail in Cuba against the commerce of the United States, the gentleman holds the following language:

"Under the influence of our acts of 1832 and 1834, the imports into Cuba, in Spanish vessels, from the United States, amounted, in 1849, to only $11,000, whereas the imports from England for the same period, in Spanish vessels, amounted to $4,345,300. That this striking difference is mainly attributable to our own regulations is obvious from the fact that England stands on no more favored footing in reference to the commercial regulations of Cuba than the United States, except her freedom from our own enactments."

Here it is distinctly charged that the discriminations and restrictions with which our commerce has so long been fettered in Cuban ports are attributable to our own regulations. Surely, if this assertion can be borne out by facts, our government must have been strangely infatuated, if not culpably reckless, in adopting a line of policy so disastrous to the commercial interests of the whole country, and particularly of the South.

But let us examine this question. What, I would ask the gentleman from South Carolina, was the condition of our commercial relations with Spain and her colonies prior to 1832? Were not our vessels virtually driven from their ports by unjust and prohibitory discriminating duties? If the gentleman from South Carolina will take the trouble to examine the documents now on file in this House, he will find that such was the case; and I would especially refer him to House document No. 163, Twenty-seventh Congress, second session. This document

will inform him that our own regulations, so far from being aggressive, were forced upon our government as a measure of self defence, and proved to be the means of compelling Spain to abolish her prohibitory policy as respects the United States. On page 19 of this document the gentleman will find that there is a wide difference of opinion between himself and the Department of State from which that document emanated, with respect both to the policy and effect of these regulations. If the gentleman should not be able to put his hands on this document, I will quote a few lines from it for his especial benefit:

"The tonnage duties upon vessels of the United States, formerly enormous, were, in 1832, under the action of countervailing duties, reduced to five cents per ton—the same which Spanish vessels pay in ports of the United States."

And on page 20 he will find another illustration of this policy, if not a justification even of measures more rigorous than those adopted by our government in 1832 and 1834:

"One important restriction is imposed on vessels of the United States, to which English, French, and Danish vessels are not subject, viz: Masters of United States vessels are not permitted to make *post-entries* on their manifests, should the cargo actually on board exceed, from any chance, the amount expressed. This is not only derogatory to the United States in a national sense, but is injurious to the interest of the merchant, any excess in the cargo over the manifest, from whatever cause arising, being liable to confiscation."

If, under such circumstances as these—and I have adverted to but few of the restrictions placed upon our commerce by the Spanish government—Congress should have deemed it to be its duty to devise some means for the protection of our merchants from plunder, and our flag from insult, the motives of that body should at least be understood before its action is so severely criticised. Would the gentleman submit to such unequal terms in his own individual dealings with his fellow-man, in whom he recognised no title of superiority, and no claim to his submission?

But I can best illustrate the necessity which dictated the acts of 1832 and 1834, by referring to an actual case of shipment of merchandise from New Orleans to Havana, under the restrictive policy, which, to this day, with scarcely any diminution of its hardships upon our merchants, characterizes the government of Cuba with respect to our commerce. In the month of November, 1841, a vessel of the United States, registered one hundred and forty tons, entered the port of Havana with the following manifest of cargo, shipped at New Orleans: 650 barrels of flour, 28,292 pounds of lard, 8,400 pounds of hams, and 1 sofa.

| | |
|---|---|
| Estimated cost of cargo in New Orleans: | |
| 650 barrels of flour, at $6 per barrel | $3,900 00 |
| 28,292 pounds lard, at 6 cents per pound | 1,697 52 |
| 8,400 pounds hams, at 6 cents per pound | 504 00 |
| 1 sofa | 20 00 |
| Total | 6,121 52 |
| Value of cargo in Havana: | |
| 650 barrels of flour, at $15 per barrel | 9,750 00 |
| 28,292 pounds of lard, at 12 cents per pound | 3,396 00 |
| 8,400 pounds of hams, at $14 per 100 pounds | 1,176 00 |
| 1 sofa | 35 00 |
| Total | 14,357 00 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Import duties paid: | |
| 650 barrels of flour, at $10 10 per barrel | $6,565 00 |
| 28,292 pounds of lard, at $4 19 per 100 pounds | 1,185 77 |
| 8,400 pounds of hams, at $3 14 per 100 pounds | 263 76 |
| 1 sofa | 14 40 |
| Tonnage dues $1 50 per ton | 210 00 |
| Dredging-machine duty 21¾ cents per ton | 30 62 |
| Wharf dues for ten days, at $1 55 per diem | 16 50 |
| Total | 8,286 05 |
| From value of cargo in Havana | 14,357 00 |
| Subtract duties and port charges | 8,286 05 |
| Net | 6,070 95 |
| From original cost | 6,121 52 |
| Subtract net in Havana | 6,070 95 |
| Balance against the cargo | 50 57 |

In reference to the state of things which this case exhibits, the Department of State very curtly observes, "the restriction imposed on the commerce of the United States particularly, is a sagacious policy on the part of those having the control of the commercial relations of those islands." A sentence, sir, pregnant with meaning.

Sir, if our government, or any government, should submit to this state of things without an effort, at least, at retaliation, it would betray a degree of forbearance or pusillanimity equally unworthy a people capable of appreciating their rights.

But, sir, let us see what are these regulations to which the gentleman from South Carolina ascribes our failure to establish reciprocity of commerce with the island of Cuba. In the United States Statutes at Large, vol. iv, p. 579, we find the act of 1832, to which the gentleman referred. I will read it:

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That no other or greater duty of tonnage be levied in the ports of the United States on vessels owned wholly by subjects of Spain, coming from a port in Spain, than shall, by the Secretary of the Treasury, be ascertained to have been paid on American vessels in the ports of Spain previous to the 20th of October, 1817.

"SEC. 2. Spanish colonial vessels to pay the same tonnage duty as American vessels in Spanish colonial ports.

"SEC. 3. Provision in case any foreign nation should abolish its discriminating duties on American vessels."

And on page 741 of the same volume, we have the act of 1834. This I will also read:

"SEC. 1. Spanish vessels from Cuba or Porto Rico to pay a tonnage duty equal to discriminating duty on American bottoms.

"SEC. 5. *Resolved, &c.,* That whenever the President of the United States shall be satisfied that the discriminating duties in favor of Spanish bottoms, levied upon the cargoes of American vessels in the ports of Cuba and Porto Rico, have been abolished, or whenever, in his opinion, a satisfactory arrangement upon the subject of the said duties shall have been made between the United States and Spain, the President is hereby authorized to declare the same by proclamation; and thereupon this act shall cease to have any further force or effect."

Sir, both these acts vindicate themselves, and the sound policy which dictated them. They need no explanation or comment at my hands. Whether they are obnoxious to the criticism of the gentleman from South Carolina, or whether they could have been designed to produce

the effect imputed to them, I leave to this House and the country to decide.

I had intended to show that the gentleman was also led, by the authorities which he consulted, into other errors; but as I have already detained the committee longer than it is my habit to do, I will content myself by selecting one of those errors as an illustration of the rest.

The gentleman, in referring to the excess of importations from England into Cuba over those from the United States, says, "that England stands on no more favored footing in reference to the commercial regulations of Cuba than the United States, except her freedom from our own enactments." It is my misfortune to differ from the honorable gentleman in his conclusions on this subject. I deny that such is the case at this time, or that such has ever been the case, unless, indeed, during a time of war between Spain and England. France and England, and every country that has a merchant marine, enjoy commercial privileges which are denied to the United States, and are exempt from restrictions which are imposed upon us.

I have carefully examined official documents giving the amount of imports and exports to and from Cuba and the United States for a number of years past, and a rigid analysis of the several articles of merchandise which have constituted the totals of the trade between the two countries, and the duties to which our exports to Cuba are subject, gives as a result the average amount of duties paid by England and the United States, respectively, on their chief products exported to that island. These calculations, which I have carefully examined, give as a result an average duty of forty-eight and a half per cent. on the chief products of the United States exported to Cuba, against twelve per cent. charged upon the products of England. But, as the documents which I have consulted may not be accessible to the honorable gentleman, I will again trespass on the patience of the committee by referring to the tables from which I have derived my conclusion:

*Duties in Cuba on articles supplied by the United States.*

| Articles. | U. States. | Duty. |
|---|---|---|
| Beef, per barrel, valued at | $6 00 | $3 14 |
| Pork....do | 8 00 | 4 89 |
| Cod-fish, per 101½ pounds | 2 37½ | 90 |
| Hams.....do.....do | 9 00 | 3 14 |
| Lard.....do.....do | 7 00 | 4 19 |
| Butter....do.....do | 20 00 | 4 90 |
| Candles, tallow | 11 00 | 4 20 |
| Candles, sperm | 35 00 | 8 96 |
| Flour, per barrel | 6 00 | 10 00 |
| Oil, fish, per gallon | 40 | 16⅔ |
| Rice, per 101½ pounds | 2 75 | 2 09 |
| Potatoes, per barrel | 1 12 | 70 |
| Cheese, per 101½ pounds | 6 00 | 3 07 |
| Saddles, each | 10 00 | 7 00 |
| Tar and pitch, per barrel | 1 75 | 84 |
| Coaches, each | 400 00 | 260 00 |
| Gigs, each | 150 00 | 150 00 |
| Lumber, per 1,000 feet | 10 00 | 5 60 |
| Hoops, per thousand | 25 00 | 8 39 |

*Duties, &c.*—Continued.

| Articles. | U. States. | Duty. |
|---|---|---|
| Shooks and heads for hogsheads, each | $1 00 | $0 28 |
| Ale and cider, per dozen bottles | 1 75 | 1 19 |
| Chairs, cane-bottom, per dozen | 12 00 | 10 82 |
| Chairs, wooden.....do | 6 00 | 7 00 |
| Nails .....per 101½ pounds | 6 00 | 1 96 |
| Beans.....do | 1 75 | 1 05 |
| Lead, in sheets.....do | 5 75 | 1 69 |
| Salt .....do | 50 | 1 25 |
| Castile soap.....do | 14 75 | 3 79 |
| Indian corn.....per barrel | 2 20 | 1 26 |
| Indian meal.....do | 3 35 | 1 47 |

Making a total value of $766 34, and of duty in Cuba $517, and giving an average duty of forty-eight and one-half per cent.

We will now institute a similar analysis of the articles usually supplied by England, directly or indirectly, and of the duties thereon in Cuba:

| Articles. | | Duty. |
|---|---|---|
| Broadcloths, superfine, one-and-a-half yards wide, first and second class, per yard | $5 00 | $0 70 |
| One-and-a-half yard wide, third class, per yard | 3 00 | 49 |
| Ordinary do., per yard | 1 25 | 26 |
| Silk cloth, per yard | 75 | 14 |
| Muslin, wide or narrow, plain or figured, per yard | 1 75 | 17 |
| Table knives and forks, with pearl, ivory, tortoise-shell, or plated handles, per dozen | 10 00 | 84 |
| Do., common, per dozen | 3 00 | 37 |

Making a total value in England of $24 75, and $2 97 of duties in Cuba, and giving an average duty of twelve per cent. nearly. These articles are given at the market prices when the report from which I have taken them was prepared, and exhibited, in the opinion of the State Department, a fair statement of the average rates of duty on all similar articles.

But perhaps the gentleman from South Carolina may contend that the restrictions of 1842 have yielded to a more liberal policy in 1855. Quite the contrary, sir. Instead of any relaxation of these onerous and insulting discriminations in favor of England, and against the United States, the present imposts on our commerce are even more unjust and oppressive, and the existing fiscal regulations in the different ports of Cuba more stringent and prohibitory.

This proposition I can demonstrate in a few words. The average of imports to Cuba for three years, 1848, 1849, and 1850, was: flour, 234,264 barrels; lard, 10,168,595 pounds; olive oil, 8,451,900 gallons; beef, dry and wet, 502,825 pounds; pork, dry and wet, 1,434,778 pounds; jerked beef, 30,556,950 pounds; hams, 2,047,406 pounds butter, 685,349 pounds.

Let us now see whence the above articles were imported, and at what rate of duty:

| *From United States.* | *Duty.* |
|---|---|
| Flour, 5,642 barrels | $10 81 per barrel. |
| Lard, 10,193,370 pounds | 4 30 per 101½ pounds. |
| Olive oil | 2 87 do. |
| Beef, 359,161 pounds | 1 75 do. |
| Pork, 1,322,655 pounds | 2 86 do. |
| Jerked beef | 1 96 do. |
| [illegible]s, 1,223,443 pounds | 3 58 do. |
| Butter, 619,107 pounds | 4 77 do. |

| *From other places.* | *Duty.* |
|---|---|
| Flour, 228,002 barrels | $2 52 per barrel. |
| Lard, 121,225 pounds | 4 30 per 101½ pounds. |
| Olive oil, 8,451,900 pounds | 57 do. |
| Beef, 143,664 pounds | 1 75 do. |
| Pork, 112,123 pounds | 2 16 do. |
| Jerked beef, 30,566,990 pounds | 1 17 do. |
| [illegible]s, 818,963 pounds | 3 58 do. |
| Butter, 66,252 pounds | 4 77 do. |

I am indebted to the same distinguished authority referred to at the commencement of these remarks, for these tables; and so unanswerable are the views which the writer takes of this whole subject, and so diametrically opposed are they to those of the honorable gentleman from South Carolina, that I cannot forbear quoting another passage from the able article already adverted to:

"Here we find that unequal fiscal impositions change the natural current of trade; and that flour, instead of being brought from the cheapest mart in the world, is sought on the other side of the Atlantic; that olive oil of the most inferior quality is enabled to compete largely with lard for domestic purposes; and that of 34,581,959 pounds of meats consumed, only 2,890,259 pounds, or a fraction over eight per cent, is imported from the United States. Butter and pork, being subject to an equality of fiscal exactions, are imported to the extent of more than ninety per cent. from this country."

And in the face of such facts and figures as these, the honorable gentleman gravely tells this committee and the country, that we are on "an equal footing" with England in our commercial intercourse with the island of Cuba. I fear but few will think as he does on this subject; I am sure my constituents will not. If, however, the honorable gentleman should still continue to be skeptical on this point, I would commend to his careful perusal a most interesting document, which emanated from the Spanish court at Madrid, in the year 1839, and dignified with the high-sounding title of a royal decree. This morceau of diplomatic civility towards the United States bears date 19th January, 1839, and a very brief extract will suffice to portray the spirit of the whole:

"It is particularly recommended to the governors of the American colonies (to be by them communicated to the subordinate authorities) *to treat the subjects of the English and French nations with all the consideration which may be compatible with national decorum, procuring, before proceeding against one of the subjects of those nations, convincing proof of their guilt, and the degree thereof; always avoiding measures which may call for indemnity of damages; for, needing in the present critical state of affairs the powerful aid of both these nations, it is just to accord them every consideration. The authorities are held strictly responsible for the fulfilment of this order.*"

Will the gentleman from South Carolina point to any incident, any expression of good will, similar to this, in the entire history of our re-

lations with Spain? Think you, sir, if the gallant Crittenden, and his brave compatriots, could have referred the *Butcher Concha* to such a document in favor of the United States, that their blood would have deluged the streets of Havana, and their bodies have been mutilated and mangled by a brutal and ferocious soldiery? No, sir; the miscreants who acted as Concha's executioners on that revolting occasion would never have satiated their demoniac thirst for the blood of American citizens—"*the authorities would see to the fulfilment of the order.*"

There are many other points in the gentleman's speech which I would desire to notice, did time permit. I will leave them to others, who, no doubt, will do them ample justice. My main object in taking the floor is accomplished. I desired only to afford the gentleman from South Carolina an opportunity of revising his facts, and of procuring some more reliable authorities than those from which he derived impressions so manifestly at war with the realities of the past twenty-five years.

At the opening of my remarks, I said that the acquisition of Cuba, by the United States, was demanded alike by our national honor and our national safety. I need not, at this day, recapitulate the grievances and the acts of official tyranny to which our citizens visiting Havana have been so long and so repeatedly subjected. I have been informed that the documents setting forth these outrages, now on file in the appropriate department of our government, would, of themselves, make up a volume. No reparation has yet been made, no apology offered—no indemnity for the past, and no guarantee for the future. It is not for me to ask what course our government proposes to adopt, in view of this state of things. Should our late minister to Madrid, now on his return home, inform the country, as he doubtless will, that Spain obstinately refuses to accord any satisfactory reparation for the wrongs inflicted on our commerce, and the indignities offered to our flag by Spanish minions in Cuba; that the cabinet at Madrid hurls defiance at our government, and haughtily plants itself upon the declaration of Lord Clarendon, that the recent treaty between England and France looked beyond the Eastern continent; what, it may be asked, under such circumstances, will be the course of the government of the United States? I, sir, have too much confidence in the zealous and patriotic solicitude of President Pierce, in everything that can affect our honor abroad or our interest at home, to entertain, much less express, any doubts on this subject. There is only one fear that gives me uneasiness; and that is, that our ardent and patriotic young men of the South—animated by those noble and chivalrous impulses which ever lead them to succor the oppressed, and justified by the unredressed insults which we have so long borne with a degree of forbearance almost amounting to dishonor—may not longer brook the tardiness of diplomatic forms, but, seizing upon the first favorable moment, anticipate what, sooner or later, must inevitably be the course—the only course—which our government can adopt. We cannot, as a nation, if we desire to command the respect of the world, submit much longer to Cuban insolence.

It is needless for gentlemen to say that England has no motive or desire to interfere in our diplomatic relations with the government of Spain. She has every motive that national selfishness and commer-

cial rivalry can inspire. She looks forward to the day when that island, under the policy which she has long been dictating to the Spanish court, shall become thoroughly Africanized; and well she knows how disastrous, how fatal to the interests and institutions of the South, such a condition of things would inevitably prove to be. She knows, also, the value, commercially, of such an acquisition to our southern territory. She is not ignorant of its importance to us in a military point of view, and hence her fears, and her jealousies, and her half-concealed hostility to the American Union, and her *underground* diplomacy with the cabinet of Spain. England knows what nature, and nature's God, has done for that western *Eden*. Rich in all the varied productions which spring forth spontaneously from her soil—salubrious in climate—exhaustless in her natural resources—she needs but the influence of American institutions, and the progressive spirit of American enterprise, to raise her to a condition that would challenge the admiration of the world. Under her present rotten and despotic system of government—her industry paralyzed, her spirit galled and broken, her sons enslaved, and her soil neglected—it is almost incredible that she could retain even a breath of commercial vitality. And yet her commerce, restricted and fettered as it is, exhibits annual returns perfectly astounding.

In 1851 her imports amounted to $32,311,430, and her exports to $31,341,683. In 1852 her imports reached the sum of $29,780,242, and her exports $27,453,936; and in 1853 she imported merchandise to the amount of $27,789,800, while her exports reached as high as $31,210,405. Of this latter sum the products of the island covered $30,328,320. The remaining $882,084 was the amount of foreign products exported during that year. Figures would fail to calculate the commercial greatness of that island, if she could only take her rank in this great confederacy of States. Nature has stamped upon her soil her long neglected claim to this proud distinction, and the hour is hastening when that claim must be recognised. The perfidy of her rulers, the duplicity of their advisers, and in the patriotic and eloquent language of President Pierce, in his inaugural address, when referring to this subject, "the preservation of the rights of commerce and the peace of the world" demand that no more time shall be lost in useless diplomacy, or in fruitless efforts to vindicate our rights.

Sir, I am opposed to any further half-way measures. The repeal of the neutrality laws would, in my judgment, belong to such a category. The effect of such a measure would be to stimulate and legalize the spirit of filibusterism, and bring, perhaps, merited rebuke upon our government. Our true course—indeed, the only course we can adopt consistently with our professions, and creditably to our government, is to send a sufficient naval force to the island of Cuba, blockade her ports, take possession of her territory in the name of justice, and hold on to it in the name of freedom. Providence will do the rest. I am willing to trust to its wise and beneficent dispensations. Then, sir, will Cuba become what God designed she should be—tyranny, oppression, the lash, the dungeon, and the horrible garrote will disappear, and peace, prosperity, the arts of civilized life, education, public virtue, and universal happiness, shall smile and reign throughout that Heaven-favored

isle. In the language of one of her own gifted and patriotic sons, "Cuba will then find peace and consolation, strength and protection, justice and freedom, and, resting upon these solid foundations, will, in a short time, exhibit to the world the portentous spectacle of a people rising from the most profound degradation, and passing, with the rapidity of the lightning's flash, to the highest point of greatness."

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